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CCP OFFICIALLY MITIGATES ATTACK ON CHINESE BOURGEOISIE

This report presents information showing how CCP attacks on the Chinese bourgeoisie have recently been moderated. The recent anticorruption campaign in China, which had developed into an attack on the national bourgeoisie as a class, reached maximum intensity during the first quarter of 1952. On 10 April 1952, the Chinese Communist Party, in an official article covering 1½ pages of that day's issue of the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, written by Feng Ting, director of the Propaganda Department, East China Bureau, Central Committee, CCP softened and "corrected" the militant nature of the propaganda attacks. Feng presented an historical analysis of the revolutionary and utilitarian role of China's capitalists and defended the thesis that (1) the national bourgeoisie is vital to the industrialization and eventual socialization of China; (2) the attack of the national bourgeoisie is not ferocious, systematic, and nationwide; and (3) the national bourgeoisie can be re-educated but must not be considered the target of a grave class struggle.

The Peiping organ pointed out that this article was written by Feng Ting to correct errors made by Communist Party writers in the 10 February - 10 March issues of the official political journal, Hsueh Hsi.

To show how Feng's thesis differs from earlier articles and press attacks, the relevant portions of three such articles from the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao and the Hsueh Hsi are presented below, followed by extracts from Feng's article.

A. Intensification of Propaganda Attack

1. An article entitled "The Press Should Concentrate Its Fire to Repulse the Bourgeois Attack," was published in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, 5 February 1952. It stated: "Although our papers have done much in the campaign to resist the attack of the bourgeoisie in this grave class struggle, the propaganda efforts of the press have still not been sufficiently militant. Especially inadequate has been the exposure and criticism of the corruption and depravation of the bourgeoisie and its capacity for encroachment."

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"The blow dealt the national bourgeoisie has not been thorough. On the whole...the press has presented only fragmentary reports and has not, systematically and emphatically, through exposures of major corruption, described vividly the attack of the bourgeoisie...This is true, of course, because we are still in the initial stage of the anti-corruption movement. Nevertheless, newspapers often fail to carry concrete and vivid reports...and implement the task with sufficient fanfare."

2. An article entitled "Resist the Bourgeois Attack and Resolutely Support the Leadership of the Proletariat," by Yu Kuang-yuan, editor, was published in the 10 February 1952 issue of the Hsueh Hsi. It said, "All propaganda forces must be mobilized to expose to all Chinese the reactionary, dark, and degenerate operations of the bourgeoisie. The ugly aspects of bourgeois ideology, as manifested in the exploitation of the masses, the enjoyment of the fruits of the revolution without toil, the damaging of others for personal gain, unconditional devotion to profiteering, use of public assets for private ends, speculation, extravagance and waste, and pleasures -- all these -- must be brought to light. The masses must be educated to the true nature of the bourgeoisie."

3. The article entitled "Refute the Absurd Views of the Bourgeoisie," by Yang Erh, was published in Hsueh Hsi, 1 March 1952. It said, "The manifold views and theories advanced by China's bourgeoisie may be placed in three general categories. Each declines to admit to the existence of the ferocious attack of the bourgeoisie. They are as follows:

"(1) The attack of the bourgeoisie is not a class attack. This is a fable. It is not only a bourgeois class attack...but also it is a ferocious, systematic, large-scale, and intensive attack.

"(2) Bourgeois democracy is deep-seated, education of cadres inadequate, system incomplete, experience shallow and immature, and vigilance insufficient: the bourgeoisie cannot be held accountable for your mistakes. In a word, the proletariat and revolutionary forces are held responsible for being corrupted. This statement is absurd...deviations have not sprung naturally from the inherent nature of the proletariat...but because the corrupted were born into a society ruled by the exploiting bourgeoisie.

"(3) The national bourgeoisie is not the bourgeois class and does not undermine internal unity. This is ridiculous... One course open to the bourgeoisie is to repent and confess to its absurd claims. The other course is to continue spreading rumors and sustain its ferocious attack. The first course will lead to better times for the bourgeoisie. The second is the road to destruction."

#### B. Moderation of Propaganda Attack

The article by Pang Ting, entitled "The Problem of Striving to Control the Inherent Nature and Erroneous Ideology of the Chinese Bourgeoisie," was published by the Peiping Jen-Min Jih-pao on 10 April 1952. Prior to that, it had been published in Hsueh Hsi, No 4. The Peiping daily carried the full article prefaced by the following comments of the Hsueh Hsi editor: "In Hsueh Hsi issues No 1, 2, and 3, there are several articles by comrades touching on the question of the bourgeoisie. These have perpetrated superficial errors. This article by Comrade Pang Ting, published in the Shanghai Chieh-fang Jih-pao, is to be recognized as having a fundamentally correct orientation."

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The following extracts show how Feng developed his thesis calling for moderation.

"Mao Tse-tung's brilliant integration of Marxism-Leninism with contemporary Chinese situations has built a firm bond with the proletariat, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, and even the national bourgeoisie.

"...There is an important distinction between the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries and in colonial and semicolonial countries. Consequently, Mao Tse-tung appraises the Chinese bourgeoisie from a universal and a specific, i.e., a Chinese, context... It is absolutely correct to include our bourgeoisie in the national, democratic united front.

"...There is a glorious side to the history of the bourgeoisie despite the assertion that it has arisen on the blood and sweat of the toiling masses... Although Karl Marx held the rise of the bourgeoisie to have germinated from the toil of the proletariat (Das Kapital, Kuo Wang translation, Chapter I, pages 609, 650), in the Communist Manifesto, he and Engels wrote emphatically that 'The bourgeoisie, wherever it has gained the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his natural superiors, and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash payment.' (cf. Liberation, Po Ku-hsiao translation, page 25; emphasis not in original text)

"...Although the bourgeoisie employed sundry devices to establish the capitalist system of profits, nevertheless it has, historically, played a most revolutionary role. (cf. Liberation, Communist Manifesto, page 25) Thus, although Marx and Engels chastized the bourgeoisie in the Communist Manifesto, they also praised it, recognizing that 'in the next century... the bourgeoisie will release even greater productive forces.' (cf. Liberation, Communist Manifesto, page 28) The newly arisen bourgeoisie, internally, destroyed the feudal system; and, externally, created nation-states. The revolutions of 1789 and 1870... have, after all, been revolutionary in nature and productive of useful leaders.

"...The bourgeoisie in colonial and semicolonial countries are of definite revolutionary worth. Lenin wrote: 'In Asia, there are still representatives of the bourgeoisie who are sincere, militant, and complete believers in democracy.' (cf. Lenin and Stalin on China, page 26; emphasis in original text) and '...the bourgeoisie continue to fight with the people against the forces of reaction.' (cf. Lenin, Backward Europe and Progressive Asia, in Lenin and Stalin on China, page 43; emphasis in original text. This work should be read by cadres.)

"...Some bourgeois leaders, Sun Yat Sen is an outstanding example, were great revolutionaries. The greatness of Sun Yat Sen was due not only to his brilliant leadership in the revolution of 1911 (despite the fact that he was a revolutionary of the old school), but also to his ability to adapt to world conditions and integrate the revolution with the needs of the masses. He stood on three fundamentals: (1) relations with the Soviet Union, (2) liaison with the Chinese Communists, and (3) assistance to the peasants. (cf. Mao Tse-tung, On the New Democracy)... The Chinese bourgeoisie turned from Chiang Kai-shek during the national emergency. Therefore, after the start of the second civil, revolutionary war, the philosophy of Mao Tse-tung rejected that of the 'leftist opportunists'. When Mao founded his revolution on the true implementation of land reform, he was adamant in standing against the 'leftist' policy of attacking the middle and small urban merchants and the rich peasants. After the Mukden incident of 18 September 1931, when the national emergency in China suddenly deepened, Mao Tse-tung was able to bridle both natures of the bourgeoisie and, with prophetic vision, formulate a correct policy.

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"This enabled us to employ the revolutionary side of the bourgeoisie and control its counter-revolutionary side. Therefore, and this is important, in appraising the bourgeoisie in toto, he employed different measures with the different types of bourgeoisie. In The Strategy for Resisting Japanese Imperialism, Mao Tse-tung stated that '...The national bourgeoisie is not to be confused with the landlord and comprador classes. There are vital distinctions between them. The national bourgeoisie does not have the feudal nature of the landlord class or the mercenary nature of the comprador class. Members of the right-wing national bourgeoisie have relatively numerous connections with foreign capital and domestic landholdings.

"For the present, however, we must not miscalculate their ability to change. The real issue concerns that element of the national bourgeoisie which has comparatively few, or no, such connections. We recognize that in the new, unstable environment of colonial countries, the orientation of this element can be changed. The crucial point for such change lies in their wavering. On the one hand, they do not welcome imperialism. On the other hand, they fear total revolution. They waver between these two extremes.' (This essay has been published in Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol I. The emphasis and following, is absent in the original text.)

"...The Chinese bourgeoisie has been helpful in the anti-imperialist struggle. Mao Tse-tung, in The CCP and the Chinese Revolution, pointed out that '...the comprador class is able, at a definite stage and a definite period of time, to participate in the anti-imperialist front,' and he continued '...we must unite with and utilize the bourgeoisie because it continues to fight Japan.'

"...During the Japanese war, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of China was useful at a definite stage and a definite period of time....The national bourgeoisie, however, went a step further in another direction; it forged common aims with the workers and peasants, i.e., independence, peace and democracy for China.

"...Although the national bourgeoisie cannot lead, it can be helpful. Chairman Mao, in his 25 December 1947 report to the Central Committee, CCP, entitled "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," said: 'It is because China is economically backward that the small and middle bourgeois representatives of capitalist economy, after the completion of the revolutionary victory, must, for a long period of time, be permitted to exist, and, in accordance with the division of labor in the national economy, all those who are of benefit to the national economy, must be allowed to grow and develop. The national bourgeoisie is an irreducible element in the economy of China.'

"...In repulsing the attack of the bourgeoisie, we must not destroy them .... Should the bourgeoisie, because of its attack, be excluded as a class from the ranks of the Chinese people? No, it should not. This would abnegate the policy of the CPP. Prior to and after liberation, Mao Tse-tung warned us of the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie.... Although the CCP has excluded the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, it has fought hand in hand with the petit and national bourgeoisie in resisting US imperialism and FMI reactionaries. After liberation, it fought with the workers, peasants, and petit bourgeoisie to build a new industrial China. Where is the precedent for this? It is found in the ideology of Mao Tse-tung which, encompassing 'in a sweep the historical and contemporary conditions unique to China, has gradually resulted in benefits to not only the proletariat, but also to the bourgeoisie.

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"...In contributing positively to China's economy, the bourgeoisie offers assistance beneficial to itself and to the nation.... As posited by Chairman Mao: 'There is no reason why the Central People's Government will not give the bourgeoisie an opportunity to live and produce.' (Mao Tse-tung, Second Session of the First National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference).... As stated by Premier Chou En-lai: 'At present, the bourgeois elements in the nation are developing their enterprises in a manner beneficial to national programs and the people's livelihood. When all of China is converted to socialism, they will surely have an opportunity to produce and even retain funds and private property.' (Chou En-lai, 34th Session of the Standing Committee, CPPCC) This means that the nation and the laboring masses must not find fault with capitalists, who operating legally, may be allowed to follow broader paths.

"...In a word, prior to the realization of socialism, it is possible, indeed, necessary, to struggle hand in hand with the bourgeoisie in building an industrial China. This is entirely correct and must be fully comprehended.

"...We must educate the bourgeoisie...and under the leadership of the proletariat, need only, from the negative aspect, criticize and repulse the bourgeoisie in political and economic arenas; and, from the positive aspect, regardless of time and place, gradually lead them to release their full potential. Thus, they may contribute greatly to the lasting benefit of the nation and the people. If we control, correctly, the spirit and erroneous ideology of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the tempo of the industrialization of China and the march toward socialism will be quickened."

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